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An interesting characteristic of Tantric studies is that the first problem they have to confront is the definition of their object: what, in the Indian civilisation, and especially in its religious-metaphysical aspect, is to be considered as Tantric? When and where did those so-called Tantric forms of belief and socio-religious practice appear? What relationship is there between Tantric Hinduism and Tantric Buddhism? Which of these two appeared first? Though texts and practices which were to be called "Tantric" were discovered as such during the first years of the nineteenth century (Hodgson's collection of manuscripts from Nepal, 1822, H. H. Wilson's *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, 1832), those are unsolved problems and they are (or ought to be) the first ones to be addressed by scholars working on the subject.

However interesting the problem of the definition of our Tantric field may be, I cannot enter into it here. I must however mention it both to explain why I shall (as you will see) carefully abstain from using the word "Tantrism", and because the definition of the Tantric field of research is a part of the research carried out in Europe on the Tantric aspect of Indian religions. I shall therefore come back to it as I try to review some of this research according to the (incomplete) information I have been able to gather for this talk. But I hope you will correct and complete what I say whenever necessary. I must also add that I know more of the research in the Hindu than in the Buddhist domain – but Tantric Buddhism is less problematic than Tantric Hinduism. It also concerns more Nepal and Tibet than India.

An aspect of that research ought to be, evidently, that of the origins and causes of the Tantric developments in Hinduism and Buddhism. When, where and how (or why) did they appear? As far as I know, nobody in Europe or elsewhere has been able to answer convincingly these questions, which are perhaps best left aside. We meet already enough difficulties when taking Tantric Hinduism (or Buddhism) as they appear to us from, say, the

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4th or 5th century A. D., and in trying to record a few historical landmarks and developments, without having to look for "roots" and causes. Two volumes on *The Roots of Tantra* (edited by Catherine Harper) were planned in the United States (California), to the first of which I contributed a small paper (saying that no such thing as "Tantrism" existed), but they have not yet come out and I very much doubt that they will cast much new light on the subject.

This problem of origins includes that of whether or not Tantric Buddhism preceded (and thus directly influenced, or caused to appear) Tantric Hinduism – this because the earliest data we have on Tantric notions or practices are (Chinese) lists of buddhist *dhāranis* (approx. 4th c. A. D.). There are however several reasons for believing that Tantric elements originated on the Hindu side. It is in fact likely (as D. S. Ruegg pointed out in an article in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1980), that these two religious ensembles became Tantric by an internal evolution due very largely to the impact of ancient autochthonous beliefs and cults. Thereafter Tantric Hinduism and Buddhism interacted because notably of their common development in the north-Indian Himalayan region. J. Naudou has shown this in his book *Les bouddhistes cachemiriens au Moyen-Age* (Paris, PUF., 1968). More recently, professor Sanderson, of Oxford, has shown, rather convincingly I feel, the importance of the impact of Kashmirian Śaivism on the Buddhist Tantric Tibetan Canon which would prove to be composed in part of (mis)translated Śaiva texts: he spoke on this subject in 1994 in Vienna, and in Germany too, I believe.

Frits Staal (though living in California, he is Dutch, I can therefore quote him) has wondered how some Vedic monosyllabic mantras, or *stobhas* came to reappear and then to proliferate a thousand years later in the Tantric world; but he has not offered an answer. Would it be possible to trace an evolution from Vedic ritualistic syllables and esoteric conceptions on the power of *vāc* to the Tantric *mantraśāstra*? I have briefly touched upon the subject in my doctorate thesis of 1963 (then in the book *Vāc*, published by SUNY press, Albany, in 1990) without going deeply into it. But this is a question which would be worth investigating seriously as one of the aspects of the study on Tantric mantras.

Tantric studies rest evidently mainly on texts, and Tantric literature is a very problematic one: it is very vast, still largely unknown even to those who work on it, and its limits are all the more difficult to discern since we do not know what is to be characterised as "Tantric".

The traditional Indian distribution of the Tantric scriptures in Sanskrit into five groups: *vaiṣṇava, śaiva, saura, gāṇapatya* and *śākta* (to which a sixth group, *bauddha*, is sometimes added) is very general. And it is unhelpful since two of these groups of texts (*saura* and *gāṇapatya*) are lost, whereas

śaiva and *śākta* texts cannot easily be distinguished. As for the traditional Indian lists of (sixty-four) Tantras, of twenty-eight (10 + 18) Āgamas and of two-hundred-and-eight Saṃhitās of the Pāñcarātra, they are too arbitrary and theoretical (being normative, not descriptive) to be of much use. Many works are lost, some are still to be discovered and, of those still existing, many important ones exist only in manuscripts of which a few only have been read and still fewer studied let alone critically edited. Several important texts have only recently become accessible thanks to the Nepal-German Manuscripts Preservation Project whose contribution to Tantric studies is really priceless (all the more so for us since the microfilms made in Nepal can be viewed in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin). Who (apart from Alexis Sanderson) has read the 24,000 ślokas of the *Jayadrathayāmalatantra*, a fundamental text on Tantric Śaivism and especially on the Kālī cults? Who (except again Sanderson) has since P. C. Bagchi in the thirties studied the *Picumata-brahmayāmalatantra*? and so forth. T. Goudriaan, of Utrecht, has indeed read or looked at a vast number of such texts for his remarkable *History of Tantric and Śākta Literature* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1981). But the field remains to be explored: it is a domain where research should develop and where a cooperation and contribution from other countries than France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy or the Netherlands is very much to be wished.

The work to be done in this textual domain is all the greater since Tantric literature is not only in Sanskrit but in all languages of India. The works in Dravidian or Indo-Aryan languages are, it seems, more often commentatorial than creative: the Tantric scriptures are in Sanskrit. Such works are nevertheless interesting, notably in that they reflect more than the more "formal" Sanskrit texts, the actual impact and social reality of Tantric beliefs and practices, their presence among, and their influence on, particular, perhaps larger, social groups. Those who have read Goudriaan's and S. Gupta's *History of Tantric and Śākta Literature*, to which I have alluded above, know S. Gupta's brief review of the Tantric literature of Bengal (a literature which is being studied in France by prof. F. Bhattacharya, especially the hymns and epics of the Goddess, the *mangals*). Tantric influences on Hindi or Marathi devotional literature were underlined by Ch. Vaudeville (notably in her book on Kabir published by Oxford University Press in 1974). Such influences on other Indian literatures (Gujarati, Panjabi...) are still being studied in France, for instance by Fse. Mallison or D. Matringe. There are also studies on this theme in Germany and Holland, I believe, but more could surely be contributed from other European countries.

A difficulty with Tantric literature – it is true of the whole Tantric phenomenon – is that you cannot circumscribe it since Tantric elements are to be found in texts that are not otherwise Tantric, whilst a large number of

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works that are not "formally" categorised as Tantric (being neither Tantras, nor āgamas, Tantric digests, etc.) are in fact Tantric. Such is the case of treatises some of which have scriptural authority, the Śivasūtra for instance. Tantric literature tends to spread in all directions: in *A History of Indian Literature*, the Śaivāgamas, which form the basic *sāmānyaśāstra* of Tantric Śaivism, are not studied in T. Goudriaan's and S. Gupta's volume on Tantric literature but in J. Gonda's *Medieval Religious Literature in Sanskrit* together with the texts of the Pāñcarātra, the Nātha literature and a number of other more or less Tantric hymns, stotras, etc. And L. Rocher's volume on the *Purāṇas* in the same series includes Tantric Purāṇas such as the Kālikā or Devī Purāṇas, or very largely "Tantricised" texts such as the Agni Purāṇa. And, as one knows, the Yoga, Śaiva or Śākta Upaniṣads (as they are classified in the Adyar edition of the Canon of the 108 Upaniṣads) are often very largely, when not entirely, Tantric, even if a veneer of Vedānta is added to them. Chr. Bouy has shown (*Les Nātha Yogins et les Upaniṣads*, Paris, Collège de France, 1994) that some of those Upaniṣads were fabricated or extended, in the second half of the 18th century, with elements taken from earlier Nātha works (works which we ought, I believe, consider as Tantric). In this textual domain much useful research can still be done and any contribution from colleagues who have not yet entered that field would be very welcome.

Now, I have been mentioning "Tantric elements" or "Tantric texts" as if we all knew what is, and what is not "Tantric", wheras in fact this is not the case. Is there, then, a means by which one can define the Tantric field? If, as I implied just now, one cannot use the textual criterion to describe the Tantric field, can one try and define it by finding out what traits – ideological or of practice/observance – could characterise such a Tantric domain? What traits can be considered as Tantric? But if you try to do so, you will find that all or a majority of these traits are practically never found together in a given text or in a given group of texts (except in some Śaiva-Śākta Tantras or traditions), whilst, on the other hand, many such traits can be variously found in a very large number of works, including some of those usually considered non-Tantric. To quote M. Eliade (*Techniques du Yoga*, Paris, 1948), from the 5th century onwards "Tantrism became a pan-Indian 'fashion'" ("une 'mode' pan-indienne") or, in the words of that pioneer of Tantric studies, A. Avalon (in *Principles of Tantra*, 1913): "Medieval Hinduism was, as its successor, modern Indian orthodoxy is, largely Tantric. The Tantra was then, as it is now, the great Mantra and Sādhana Shāstra and the main, when not the sole, source as regards worship, initiation, yoga, the supremacy of the guru, and so forth..." Or, to quote a modern Indian author, Vamshidar Sukul Vaidyaraj: "*tantraśāstra hindūdharm ko viśvakoś hai. Usmẽ hindūdharm kī sabhī sādhakāõ kī vidhiyā̃ aṅkit haĩ*".

This is why I have arrived – at least for the time being – at the conclusion that there is no such thing as "Tantrism" taken as a specific religious entity. There are merely Tantric beliefs and practices which, in the course of time and due to different elements or causes, have permeated and thus modified the religious traditions of the Hindu ensemble as well as Mahāyāna Buddhism. I am naturally quite prepared to admit that I am not entirely right in saying this. Further attempts at a better definition of the Tantric phenomenon would certainly be very useful. The more we study particular Tantric texts, the more we shall progress in that direction. But I very much doubt that we shall ever be able to confirm the existence of this Western notion of "Tantrism".

There have been, of course, attempts in India and in the West at a definition of some sort of a Tantric religious ensemble. T. Goudriaan gave an interesting description of Tantric traits in the first part of the book *Hindu Tantrism* (Leiden, Brill, 1979) which he wrote with D. J. Hoens and S. Gupta: his contribution is very useful, as is Dr. Gupta's description, in the second part of the book, of the Tantric (in fact: Śrīvidyā) *pūjā*. On that form of worship one may also refer to G. Bühnemann, *The Worship of Mahāgaṇapati according to the Nityotsava* (Wichtrach, Institut für Indologie, 1988). In 1963, in my main doctorate thesis, I attempted (with the boldness of ignorance, I would now say) to give a definition of what I then still called Tantrism. But I recoiled from such temerity in the American (1990, SUNY Press) version – *Vāc, The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras*, of that earlier work. I have since written some papers and given a few lectures on the subject and I sometimes imagine that I might write a book where some sort of "definitive" statement on the subject would be given, but I doubt that I shall ever be able to do it.

Looking now at the different Hindu Tantric traditions and at the research done on them, I personally have continued working on the Śaiva-Śākta texts from Kashmir or from Kashmirian authors from South India, either of the *Trika-Pratyabhijñā*, or of the *Tripurā-Śrīvidyā* traditions, or of the later *Krama*.

On the Kashmirian Śaiva non-dualist systems, the first serious studies and translations (into French) from the Sanskrit were those of Dr. L. Silburn (nine volumes from 1957 to 1990, all published in the collection of the Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Paris): a pioneering work, particularly attentive to the metaphysical and mystical aspects of those texts, and less concerned with their historical or philological side. The main expert on such texts (also generally on Śaivism) is now professor Alexis Sanderson, of Oxford, whose knowledge of these traditions is unequalled. He has unfortunately published very little: half a dozen papers at most, but his study of "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions" in S. Sutherland *et al* (eds), *The*

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World's Religions (London, Routledge, 1988) is undoubtedly the best, clearest and at present the most authoritative exposition of the Śaiva Tantric traditions from their conjectured beginnings to the 14th century. A. Sanderson planned several books of study and translations on the subject, none of which have as yet appeared. He is now completing, however, a critical edition and English translation of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrasāra*, to be published in the USA.

In this Kashmirian non-dualist Śaiva domain (on which a former student of Sanderson. M. Dyczkowski, has written three useful studies (*The Doctrine of Vibration*, 1987, *The Canon of the Śaivāgamas and the Kubjikātantra*, 1988, and *The Stanzas on Vibration*, 1992: a translation of the *Spandakārikā*, all published by SUNY Press, Albany, New York), the Italian contribution too is outstanding. It was marked initially by R. Gnoli's Italian translation of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* (*Luce delle Sacre Scritture*, Torino, UTET, 1971), in many respects a landmark in Tantric studies. Since then Gnoli has published translations or editions of other less important Śaiva works but also, in 1985 a remarkable critical edition and Italian translation of that abstruse treatise of Abhinavagupta, the *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa* (Roma, IsMEO, 1985). Gnoli's colleague in the University of Rome, R. Torella, has, among other things, recently made a really excellent critical edition and English annotated translation of Utpaladeva's *Īśvarapratyabhijñākārikā* with Utpala's *Vṛtti* (Roma, IsMEO, 1994). Torella who, before that, gave a good Italian translation of the *Śivasūtra* with Kṣemarāja's *Vimarśinī*, is now working on a little known but very interesting Kashmirian author of the 9th–10th century, Vāmanadatta whose *Saṃvitprakāśa* he is currently editing and translating. One of his students, Fr. Sferra, is working on dualist Śaiva texts, whereas Gnoli and his group are engaged in editing and translating (from Sanskrit or Tibetan) Buddhist Tantric works of the Kalacakra. They have recently published a study and translation of the works of Naropa under the title of *Iniziazione* (Milano, Adelphi, 1994). This brief review of some of the activities of our Italian colleagues shows Rome as being now one of the most active centers of Tantric studies.

The Śaiva non-dualist Kashmirian texts are also quite actively studied and translated in the United States, where "Kashmir Shaivism" is very much the fashion, the study of Śākta works being sometimes an aspect of the so-called gender studies. The work being done there, is not always of the most rigorous academic standard, it being carried out mostly in Departments of Religion or in Schools of Divinity where one insists more on the religious or philosophical import of Sanskrit texts than on their philological aspect. But our American colleagues have facilities, including the most modern ones, and financial means we do not have in Europe, which are a great help. In the United States there also exists a *Society for Tantric Studies* which gives

informations on work in progress and facilitates contacts and exchanges between scholars (including European ones) working on this field: this is very useful in its own way.

This Śaiva field of research thus appears to be very actively (if not always very rigorously) studied: it is not in need of a much larger number of scholars. We may note, however, that Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, that vast and very interesting Tantric treatise (together with Jayaratha's commentary it fills twelve volumes of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies) is, in spite of its importance, still in need of a better edition and of a systematic study both of its notions and practices and of its sources. Abhinava and Jayaratha quote from a large number of known or unknown Tantras: a study of these sources would be very informative. But this would be a lifetime's work and of much erudition. Prof. Sanderson is surely the only person able to carry it out, but I doubt he will ever embark on such a huge work. This is typically a work for a team of scholars. Will it ever be found? We may note here that the two main Śaiva Tantras still extant (and published), the *Svacchandatantra* and the *Netratantra* – both with a good commentary by the 12th century philosopher, Kṣemarāja – have not been translated in a Western language. The *Netra* was only analysed by H. Brunner (*BEFEO*, 1974) and there is an American doctorate thesis (by J. Arraj) on the *Svacchanda* but it was not published. Both texts deserve some more attention.

A different group of Śākta Tantras – of the *paścimāmnāya* of the Kula – those of the goddess Kubjikā: the *Kubjikāmata*, has become the particular field of our Dutch colleagues. There were first Jan Schoterman's papers and then his edition and translation of five chapters of the *Saṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* (Leiden, Brill, 1982) – in a different genre, he edited and translated the *Yonitantra* (Delhi, Manohar, 1980). T. Goudriaan, of Utrecht, who worked with Schoterman, pursued this field of research after his colleague's untimely demise, and published in 1988 a critical edition of the *Kubjikāmatatantra* (Leiden, Brill, 1988) and published on the basis of Schoterman's work the *Kubjikā Upaniṣad* (Groningen, 1994). He goes on working on this tradition. On it also works Mrs. D. Heiligjers-Seelen, of Utrecht and Leiden, with several papers on the subject and, in 1994, a book on *The Five Cakra System of Kubjikāmata 14–16* (Groningen, 1995). The Kubjikāmata is still not well known and is worth studying since it differs in many respects from other Śaiva-Śākta traditions. T. Goudriaan's work is not limited to this tradition: he edited and translated the *Vīṇaśikhātantra*, "a Tantra of the left current" (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1985).

Another *āmnāya* of the Kula is the *dakṣināmnāya*, with the cult of the goddess Tripurasundarī/Lalitā. This tradition, also called Śrīvidyā, is interesting and important by the number and the literary quality of its texts

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and by its duration (10th–18th century). I published last year a French annotated translation of one of its main Scriptures, the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, with Amṛtānanda's (14th century?) commentary, *Dīpikā* (Paris, Collège de France, 1994). This tradition is likely to have originated in or around Kashmir, but it then developed mostly in the South where there evolved a new form of it which is still very present among Smārta Brahmins, it having been adopted and very "de-Tantricised" by the Śaṅkarācāryas of Sṛṅgeri and Kāñcipuram. The number of Tantras, digests, paddhatis, commentaries, hymns, etc., as well as the original authors – from Puṇyānanda, author of the Kāmakalāvilāsa to Bhāskararāya or Umānandanātha in the 18th century – of this tradition makes it one of the richest in the Tantric domain. Its modern South-Indian form is interesting too as an example of how a tradition persists while evolving.

Another Tantric domain where research is active but can be further pursued and developed is that of dualist Śaivism, the *Saiddhāntika* Śaivāgamas (Āgamas, Upāgamas and their commentaries), which are considered as propounding the basic common doctrine, the *sāmānyaśāstra*, of all Śaivas, be they dualists or non-dualists. Due to Prof. J. Filliozat's initiative in 1955, and to the activity of Pdt. N. R. Bhatt, the French Institute of Indology of Pondichéry has collected hundreds of such texts, edited and translated a few. The work is still somehow going on. The French research on Āgamic Śaivism is illustrated especially by Dr. H. Brunner's edition and French annotated translation of the *Somaśambhupaddhati*, a manual of Śaiva ritual, with commentaries notably by Aghoraśiva (Pondichéry, 1963-68-77: the fourth volume is in the press). It is a major Indological work. Mrs. Brunner has abundantly written on the doctrines and ritual practices of Āgamic Śaivism on which she is certainly the best authority. Prof. P.-S. Filliozat too has contributed to the study of dualist Śaivism, notably on the 9th century Kashmirian author Sadyojyoti. Work on the Śaivāgamas: edition, translation, studies can usefully go on and could surely be taken up by younger scholars. The French Institute of Pondichéry is the best place to work on the subject thanks to its library, fund of manuscripts, pandits. All scholars are welcome there if they wish to stay. Very few, if any, from Eastern Europe have as yet availed themselves of that possibility, I believe: I hope they will do so some day.

Another branch of Tantric studies is that of the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra: the "208" saṃhitās and afferent literature. Nowadays Pāñcarātrika adepts usually do not consider themselves tantrikas, and some saṃhitās do lean heavily on the Vedic side, going even as far, in one case as considering itself as being part of a Vedic *śākhā*. Such texts are nevertheless Tantric in their ritual, in most of their mantras and in most of their notions. They are particularly studied by S. Gupta (of Utrecht, then Oxford) who translated the

Lakṣmītantra (Leiden, Brill, 1972) and wrote several studies on the subject. They are also studied in Vienna under the direction of Prof. G. Oberhammer (with the co-operation, among others, of a young scholar from Krakow), and in Paris (G. Colas). Pāñcarātra is however comparatively little studied in Europe: it is worth further study and perhaps European co-operation.

A group of texts still much less known than those of the Pāñcarātra is that of the Nāthas, on which little progress has been made since Brigg's *Gorakhnāth and the Kānpaṭha Yogīs* (1938), though several Nātha texts have since been published in India. This is a domain where it seems difficult to get rid of fables and myths. In France, Chr. Bouy, as I said, has shown the use of Nātha texts to fabricate or re-cast some Upaniṣads. English, German or French anthropologists working in Nepal or in India study the present situation of Nātha yogins or Nātha cults. But the real nature, place and role of the Nātha tradition still very much eludes us. It is very much worth studying both because it is an interesting and still active yogic tradition and because there have clearly been important Nātha influences on some other religious traditions, notably on some forms of devotional literature.

Tantric research however is not only on particular texts or social groups, but also on specific themes, practices or speculations that are found in most of Tantric traditions. Foremost in this respect are the speculations and ritual practices concerning the power and efficiency of the Word or speech: *vāc* or *śabda*, and all that concerns the ritual, spiritual or "magical" use of that power: the vast domain of *mantraśāstra*. Several scholars, myself included, have studied or are studying various aspects of those notions and practices. But much research could still usefully be pursued on mantras and mantric practices and other such themes. (I might mention here that the most comprehensive study on the theme of mantras is the volume *Understanding Mantras*, edited by H. Alper (Albany, NY, SUNY Press, 1989).

Tantric ritual (worship, etc.) is also a field where research can still be done. If we consider with the late J. Filliozat that the Tantric phenomenon "is nothing else than the ritual and technical aspect of all Indian religions" ("un traité d'architecture religieuse est nécessairement tantrique"), the field is extremely vast. As I said above, this domain of Tantric observances and rites is none other than Hinduism and Buddhism as they are actually practised, experienced, by Indians (or Nepalese, etc.). It is therefore a domain where the contribution of sociologists and anthropologists working on South Asia is very important: there are such specialists in Western Europe (and in the United States), but few, I believe, in Eastern Europe – or are there? In Paris, the Centre d'Études de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, following the inspiration of L. Dumont and M. Biardeau, brings together "classical" Indologists and field workers so that they

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co-operate on the study of various subjects including sometimes Tantric ones. The seventeen issues of the series "Collection Puruṣārtha" published by the Centre since 1975 are a testimony to the research being done.

I have not mentioned the theme of yoga. It is because yoga is a part of most Tantric rites and practices. The relationship of yoga to the Tantric traditions (both in practice and in ideology) is, however, also a subject where research is still necessary and international co-operation possible.

Finally, a basic element of the Tantric domain is its vocabulary: there are specific Tantric uses and meanings of general Sanskrit terms, as well as specific Tantric words, and those are not always well known. It was therefore decided two years ago in Vienna to study this vocabulary as a joint Austrian-French venture, sponsored by the Collège de France and the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Prof. G. Oberhammer), and to make a dictionnary or glossary of such technical terms culled from Hindu texts. Participants are H. Brunner, Chr. Bouy, and A. Padoux from France, G. Oberhammer, Sylvia Stark for Austria. Also T. Goudriaan; and A. Sanderson as a consultant. The corpus of texts used goes up to the 16th/17th century. Buddhism is excluded. There will be about two thousand entries, each including a translation (in English, French and German), a definition of the term, textual references with the Sanskrit text quoted, correlates. The work is conceived as a glossary to help students and research scholars to understand the particular Tantric meaning or use or a word, not as an encyclopedia of Tantric ritual or notions. One hopes it will prove useful. If it is published in fascicles, a first one (A–AU or A–KA: about 1/4th of the planned work) could be issued in 1997.

Polish Indology – the Present and the Future.

PRZEMYSŁAW PIEKARSKI, Kraków

The first trace of India in Poland comes from 1596, when Polish sailor, Krzysztof Pawłowski wrote a letter after arriving to India aboard a Portuguese ship. Later a very serious interest came in Romanticism and some noble families collected pieces of art from India. Prince Czartoryski had not only gathered a collection of Indian miniatures (now in National Museum in Kraków) but also supported scientific interests in three centres: Warsaw, Vilnius and Puławy (an estate of the family). That was the birth place of the first Sanskrit grammar in Polish. Yet the first university to start regular teaching of Sanskrit was the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. A series of lectures based upon Bopp's grammar was held in 1860–1862. The lecturer was Bernard Julg. In 1893 Leon Mańkowski was appointed the Head of Sanskrit Seminar which was the beginning of the Chair of Sanskrit. Mańkowski himself was a disciple of Stenzler and Hillebrandt. Some eminent Polish scholars were involved in teaching Sanskrit at the University, to mention J. M. Rozwadowski, J. Baudouin de Courtenay and A. Gawroński. The other Indologists to be mentioned here are H. Willman Grabowska and T. Pobożniak. It is to them that we owe the continuity of Indological studies in Kraków. The next centre is Warsaw. St. Schayer was to start Sanskrit studies there in 1926. His main followers were E. Słuszkiewicz and M. K. Byrski (at present the ambassador to India).

After the World War II we have two more centres. In 1945 L. Skurzak restarted Indological studies in Wrocław, continuing the work of Stenzel and Hillebrandt. Nowadays Sanskrit studies are held at the Chair of Classical Philology by H. Wałkówska and J. Sachse.

The other centre to start after the war was Łódź, where St. Michalski lectured on Sanskrit and other topics in the years 1945–1961. After his death Indian studies were only partial. Among the other places where Sanskrit and related topics are taught there are: Catholic University in Lublin where

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